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The Khotanese fragmentary folio IOL Khot 7/7: verses 15.73–84 of the *Book of Zambasta* rediscovered?

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In memory of Margarita Iosifovna Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja (1933–2021)

Abstract

The article contains an edition and translation with metrical analysis, commentary, and glossary of the Old Khotanese fragmentary folio IOL Khot 7/7 (Kha. 0012a), which deals with the selflessness of phenomena, refers to the *Ratnaketu*(*parivarta*), and mentions the *pratyātmaggaucara*- ‘realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata)’ and the *tathāggata-ggarbha*- ‘germ of a Tathāgata’. The article suggests that it contains verses 15.73–84 of the *Book of Zambasta* and offers reinterpretations and etymologies of the rare words *ggrī*- ‘person’ < Iranian **grīyā*- (cf. Sogdian γryw) and *hamjsārrā*- (collective) ‘carving tools’ < Iranian **ham-čarθ-nā*- from the root **kart*- ‘to cut’.

Keywords

Khotanese Buddhist texts, *Book of Zambasta*, Khotanese manuscripts, selflessness, **pratyātmaggaucara*, *tathāgatagarbha*, *Ratnaketuparivarta*

Introduction

The Old Khotanese fragmentary folio studied here is kept in the British Library under the shelf number IOL Khot 7/7 corresponding to the original signature Kha[dalik] 0012a (Figs. 1–2).¹ Only three fourths of the folio are preserved, the right end being lost. The fragment is now 10.2 cm high, 39.2 cm wide, and has six lines per page. The punch hole is between the third and fourth lines after 8 to 10 akṣaras (including punctuation). The folio bears the number 135 in the left margin of the obverse. Many akṣaras are partly effaced.

The folio was first published in transcription by Harold W. Bailey and then re-edited and provided with a working translation by Prods O. Skjærvø, who labelled its content as ‘*Z’ and, thus, tentatively assigned it to the religious poem known as the *Book of Zambasta* (Z for short).² This can hardly be doubted because the metrical text it contains

¹ For the comments and suggestions they made after reading a draft of this article, it is a pleasure to thank Chen Ruixuan, Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, Alessandro Del Tomba, Doug Hitch (who also kindly polished my English), Nicholas Sims-Williams, and several of my students. Specific contributions are acknowledged in each individual case. — Conventions used in the edition and the translation are: * = emendation, with MS reading in a note; * = blank in the manuscript corresponding to about the average space of an akṣara; [abc] = lacuna and its restoration; <abc> = editor’s supplement where the manuscript has no lacuna.

² KBT 11; Catalogue 174–175. Edition and translation of the *Book of Zambasta* in Emmerick 1968. In quotations from the *Book of Zambasta*, I arrange the text metrically, when quotations are in display

is arranged in such a way that each manuscript line corresponds to a single verse and is divided into four sections that ideally match the metrical subdivisions of the verses. This produces an elegant layout in four columns which was probably reserved for the highly esteemed *Book of Zambasta*, since it is found in its main manuscript (Z₁ for short) and virtually all of its fragmentarily preserved folios and fragments from other manuscripts.³

The connections of folio IOL Khot 7/7 with the *Book of Zambasta* are not only formal, however. The text deals with a core teaching of the Mahāyāna, that is, the selflessness of phenomena (Khotanese *hāra*- ‘thing’ = Sanskrit *dharma*-), and refers to the *Ratnaketu*(*parivarta*), a text of the *Mahāsannipāta* collection (cf. Z 13.13 *mahāsandāvātā*). It also mentions the *pratyātmaggaucara*- ‘realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata)’ and the *ttathāggataggarbha*- ‘germ of a Tathāgata’. The folio must belong to one of the large gaps in Z₁. It is, however, from a different manuscript. Unfortunately, the loss of its right quarter entails the loss not only of the fourth pāda of each verse, but also of the verse numbers that were often written at the end of lines and that could have helped us to locate the text.

The subject matter is similar to that of chapter 7, from which the twelve verses 48–60, corresponding to one folio, are missing in Z₁. One might be tempted to identify the text as belonging to this gap, but this is highly improbable because all the extant verses of chapter 7 are in metre C, whereas the present verses are in metre A.⁴ Other chapters at times alternate different verse types, but there is always a reason for this.⁵ There seems, however, to be no such reason in the case of chapter 7.

There seems to be also a connection with chapter 23, whose verses 54–89 and 174–365 are missing and which is entirely in metre A, but the Chinese parallel to this chapter does not contain anything similar to the text under consideration (cf. the Commentary on 82 below).

Since there are twelve lines to a folio both in the present fragment and in Z₁, if chapter 1 was not the first chapter of the work, as was maintained by Ernst and Manu Leumann,⁶ and the foliation of our manuscript was the same as in Z₁, then our fol. 135 belongs to one of the lost chapters that preceded the incomplete chapter 1, whose text must have started on fol. 143.⁷

Alternatively, however, there is the possibility that Z₁ was a miscellaneous manuscript containing one or more texts before the *Book of Zambasta* and that the latter actually began with chapter 1 on fol. 143.⁸ In this case, our fol. 135 would correspond to Z₁’s fol. 277 (= 142 + 135), which belongs to chapter 15. The extant parts of chapter 15 are all in metre A like our folio with the exception of the metre C verses 114–123, which occur towards the end of the chapter, are addressed to the Buddha, and summarise his teaching (given below). Unfortunately, chapter 15 is badly preserved since three of the

form, and I insert slashes in quotations in the running text to indicate pāda division where this is not already marked by punctuation. I follow Emmerick’s translation unless otherwise specified.

³ This applies only partially to the early Berlin manuscript bi 33 (T III S 16). See Maggi 2004: 187.

⁴ On Old Khotanese metrics, see Hitch 2014 with references to earlier literature.

⁵ See Maggi 2017: 153 n. 4 for examples of inserts in metre C encapsulated into chapters otherwise composed in metres A or B.

⁶ See Leumann 1933–1936: ix, xii; Leumann 1967: 367 n. 1.

⁷ See Leumann 1933–1936: ix; Emmerick 1968: xiv.

⁸ See Emmerick 1968: xiv; Maggi 2009: 350–351.

originally eleven and a half folios containing it are missing (275–277 with Z 15.49–84), eight of the extant ones are defective (apart from fol. 271), and ‘[t]he position of fol. 278 is conjectural, as the folio number is not visible’, so that ‘[a]fter the first folio the sequence of thought is not clear’.⁹ The metre C passage Z 15.114–123 bears some resemblance to the content of our folio:

- 114 *sarvaṇa balysa . kho haḍe ttärä rraṣto hvatai*
[...]
115 *hūsta gyaḍīna . hūṇa ṣā’ saṃṇa umā*
[...]
116 *jsīḍa jaḍīna satva saṃtsera bi[śśä]*
[...]
117 *dṛṣṭä väcätre oṣe parikalpā ttu[śśe]*¹⁰
[...]
118 *ttuśśä abhāva biśśä sarvadharma [...]*
[...]
119 *aismū śśūkä . tcamāṇa ā[...]*
[...]
120 *gyaḍ]īna cā[’]ye mā[ñand- ...]*
[...]
121 *kho ūca banhya . āyāre trāmā [...]*
[...]
122 *aismū trāmā samu kho ātāśä [ttuśśai]*
[...]
123 *errāma vasutāṇa ātīṇa dātte tcarä*
[...]

¹¹⁴O all-knowing Buddha, but how very rightly you have spoken [...]: ¹¹⁵You are sleeping through ignorance. In a dream that *saṃjñā* of yours [...] ¹¹⁶Deceived through ignorance are all beings in *saṃsāra* [...] ¹¹⁷Various views, evil *parikalpas*, em[pty] (Emmerick: this) [...] ¹¹⁸All the *dharma*s are empty, unreal, [...] ¹¹⁹The mind alone in which [...] ¹²⁰through ignorance, resembling magic [...] ¹²¹As trees are reflected in water, so [...] ¹²²The mind is just like space, [empty ...] ¹²³As a face appears in a clean mirror [...]’.¹¹

Comparison of *parikalpa*- ‘false assumption’ in Z 15.117 with the insistence on *parikalpa*-, *saṃkalpa*- ‘fancy’, and *vikalpa*- ‘false discrimination’ in v2–4 below, as well as of 115 with r1 (sleeping imagination [*saṃjñā*-] because of ignorance), 120 with r5 (ignorance and magic), and 119, 122 with v6 (mind alone like a sky without clouds), indicates a thematic similarity between chapter 15 and our folio.

A further thematic connection may be detected in Z₁’s fragmentary fol. 278 (?), whose number and content as verses 15.85–96 were conjectured by Vladimir S. Vorob’ëv-Desjatovskij.¹² This folio extols the qualities of the Bodhisattvas of the

⁹ Emmerick 1968: 229.

¹⁰ My supplement.

¹¹ Trans. after Emmerick with modifications.

¹² According to him, ‘Следы сохранившейся цифры несколько походят по очертаниям на 8, поэтому можно предположить, что это фрагмент листа 278 [The extant traces of the figure are somewhat similar in outline to 8, so that it can be assumed that this is a fragment of folio 278]’ (in Vorob’ëv-Desjatovskij and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja 1965: 15; cf. Vorob’ëv-Desjatovskij 1955: 70),

Mahāyāna and, in its last legible sentences, one reads:

94 (?) [*sa*]māhānyau jsa nuvaštāre kho saṃtsārā padaṃgya
dharmānu [...]

95 (?) [+] + -ä dātā mahāyānā vasutā ttārī hāḍe
[...]

⁹⁴They investigate by meditations how *saṃsāra* is a manifestation of *dharmas* [...].

⁹⁵[...] the Law of the Mahāyāna is pure, but those [...].

Although the last verse and a half (95cd–96 [?]) are virtually lost so that the connection is unclear, these sentences may well precede and introduce the core Mahāyāna teachings summarised in the fragmentary folio IOL Khot 7/7 bearing the number 135 and possibly corresponding to Z₁'s lost fol. 277. If this is so, then the alleged fol. *278 would in reality be fol. *276 with verses 15.61–72, whereas the verses in our folio would be the subsequent verses 15.73–84 of the *Book of Zambasta*.

Transcription

folio 135 (100 30 5)¹³

- r1 hūsamkya saṃñā gyaḍīna . kye * * ttu hūña daiyā cu ništā pra- * * ttyātmaggaucarā
amggā paba[
r2 bāysādyē¹⁴ saṃñā ni huštā vi- * * ñānā harbiśśā īste . ttathā- * * ggataggarbhā¹⁵
haraysde . ni ka[
r3 ratanīnai māñātā vūḍā da- * * śī¹⁶ ratnakettu aggaṃjsu . sarvaṃ- * * ñā¹⁷ baysā
briyūnā śī tta hva- * [
r4 prattyātmaggaucarā dvāsu . * * ttātā amgga prakai īñā paba * * saindā jaḍīna
anāstanā mu- * * [
r5 kho ju cā'ya nārmāndā ha- * * ndaru rūvu hūsandā śśānye * * pātco hūña dāte handa-
* * [
r6 ttrāmu¹⁸ ttātā jaḍī dvāsu . * * pabastau jsīrgye hanāsā a- * * bhāvāna ttārā ne byaure
ku * * [
v1 ggandharvanaggarā ṣa kaṃtha pada- * * ndā na hirṣṭai ništā ttrāmu hi- * * ra biśśā
avadanda samu hivi- * * [
v2 ggrrī-vaktrā ggrrī-ysā u ggrrī-dasta * * uī loviye dašte hama- * * tā saṃkalpā
vikalpi saṃbā- * * [
v3 dyūlä biḍa ttaṃda u baurā * * haṃdurna lovī jñānā dyūlä * * saṃkalpa vikalpa .
saṃbā- * * [
v4 saṃkalpa-mātrā ātma . * * parikalpa-mātrā gge'ha vi- * * kalpa-mātrā haṃjsārā
saṃ- * * [

but no such traces are visible in the facsimile, where the folio number is followed by a question mark (p. 102).

¹³ Though many akṣaras are partly effaced, this is not pointed out in the transcription by using *italics* because they can be read with a high degree of confidence.

¹⁴ Bailey and Skjærvø *bāysāndye*.

¹⁵ Bailey and Skjærvø *ttathaggaṭadharmā*.

¹⁶ Bailey and Skjærvø *diśa*.

¹⁷ Bailey and Skjærvø *sarvañā*.

¹⁸ Bailey *ndrāmu*.

- v5 ttrāmu¹⁹ samu jaḍī cu şkaunje * * samu kho haṃjsār²⁰ u pīsā * * vijñānā rūvā u yāva kā[
v6 jaḍī ju hirṣṭai niṣṭā vina * * aysmuī karju ni byaude vina * * jaḍī aysmū śśūkā āgāśā [

Critical text

- 73 ^{r1}hūsamkya samñña gyaḍīna . kye ttu hūñña daiyā cu niṣṭā
prattyātmaggaucarā aṃggā paba[stau²¹ ˘˘˘ ˘˘]
74 ^{r2}bāysādye samñña ni *hūstā²² viññānā harbiśśā īste .
ttathāggataggarbhā haraysde . ni ka[˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘]
75 ^{r3}ratanīnai māñātā vūḍā daṣi ratnakettu aggaṃjsu .
sarvaṃññā ba(l)ysā²³ briyūnā ṣi tta hva—[te²⁴ ˘˘˘ ˘˘]
76 ^{r4}prattyātmaggaucarā dvāsu . ttātā aṃgga pracaī iññā
paba(stau)²⁵ saindā jaḍīna anāstanā mu[˘˘˘ ˘˘]
77 ^{r5}kho ju cā'ya nārmāndā {handaru}²⁶ rūvu hūsandā śśānye pātco
hūñña dāte handa[ru rūvu hārju vara ttatvatu niṣṭā]²⁷
78 ^{r6}ttrāmu ttātā jaḍī dvāsu . pabastau jsīrgye hanāsā
abhāvāna ttārā ne byaure ku [ye prracā rraṣṭu paysendā]²⁸
79 ^{v1}ggandharvanaggarā ṣa kaṃtha *padanda *nā²⁹ hirṣṭai niṣṭā
ttrāmu hira biśśā avadanda samu hivi[ñe samññe jsa saindā]³⁰
80 ^{v2}ggrrī-vaktrrā *ggrrī-ysāru³¹ ggrrī-dasta ⟨u⟩³² uī loviye daṣte
hamatā samkalpā vikalpi saṃbā[rā³³ ˘˘˘ ˘˘]
81 ^{v3}dyūlā biḍa ttaṃda u baurā haṃdurna lovī jñānā
dyūlā samkalpa vikalpa . saṃbā[rā³⁴ ˘˘˘ ˘˘]
82 ^{v4}saṃkalpa-mātrā ātma .³⁵ parikalpa-mātrā gge'ha
vikalpa-mātrā haṃjsār³⁶ saṃ[ñña-mātrei pīsā]³⁶
83 ^{v5}ttrāmu samu jaḍī cu şkaunje samu kho haṃjsār³⁶ u pīsā
vijñānā rūvā u yāva kā[˘˘˘ ˘˘˘ ˘˘]
84 ^{v6}jaḍī ju hirṣṭai niṣṭā vina aysmuī karju ni byaude

19. Skjærvø *trāmu*.

20. Bailey and Skjærvø *hajsār*.

21. Restoration by Maggi (Skjærvø *paba[st-]*).

22. **hūstā* emended by Maggi for MS *hustā*.

23. Supplement by Maggi for MS *baysā* (see Commentary).

24. Restoration by Bailey, Dict. 409 s.v. *ṣi*.

25. Supplement by Maggi (Skjærvø *paba(sta)*).

26. Expunction by Nicholas Sims-Williams (see Commentary).

27. Restoration by Maggi (see Commentary).

28. Restoration by Maggi (see Commentary).

29. Emended by Skjærvø for MS *padandā na*.

30. Supplement by Maggi (see Commentary).

31. **ggrrī-ysāru* emended by Sims-Williams for MS *ggrrī-ysā u*; Bailey and Skjærvø *ggrrī-⟨pā⟩ysā* (see Commentary).

32. Supplement by Maggi (see Commentary).

33. Supplement suggested by Skjærvø's translation '*sambhāraṇa*' (cf. Commentary).

34. Supplement suggested by Skjærvø's translation '*sambhāraṇas*' (cf. Commentary).

35. Skjærvø has the dot before *ātma*.

36. Restoration by Maggi with *saṃ[ñña-]* suggested by Sims-Williams (Bailey, Dict. 446 s.v. *haṃjsār* restores *saṃ[kalpa]* and translates '*saṃkalpa*-thought only ...', which implies *saṃ[kalpa-mātr-]* (see Commentary).

Metrical analysis

Metre A

73	-- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	-- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- [- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7
74	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ³⁸ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ [∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7
75	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ³⁹ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	-- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ [- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7
76	-- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	∪ -- -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ [∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7
77	∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ⁴⁰ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ⁴¹ ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	-- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ [∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7
78	-- ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ⁴² ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ [∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7
79	-- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	-- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ [- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7
80	-- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	5+9+3+7
	∪ ∪ ∪ -- -- ∪ -- ∪ -- [- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7
81	-- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	-- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- [- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7
82	-- ∪ -- -- ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	-- ∪ ⁴³ -- -- -- ∪ -- [- ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪]	5+9+3+7
83	-- ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	-- ∪ -- ∪ -- ∪ -- [- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7
84	∪ -- ∪ ⁴⁴ -- -- ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ -- ⁴⁵ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪	5+7+5+7
	∪ ∪ ∪ -- -- -- ∪ -- ∪ [- ∪ -- ∪ ∪]	5+7+5+7

Translation

73 There is sleeping imagination because of ignorance⁴⁷ for one who sees in a dream that⁴⁸ which does not exist. A part of the realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata)

³⁷. Supplement by Maggi (see Commentary).

³⁸. Read *bāysā(n)d(i)ye*.

³⁹. *ratānīnai* scans as ∪ ∪ ∪ -- by metrical shortening (see Leumann 1933–1936: xxxiv § C.a.β).

⁴⁰. *nārmāndā* scans as ∪ -- ∪ by metrical shortening.

⁴¹. Read *śśān(i)ye*.

⁴². Read *d(u)vāsu*.

⁴³. *vikāḷpa-* scans as -- ∪ by metrical lengthening (see Leumann 1933–1936: xxxiv § C.b). Cf. the variants of the loanword *vipāka-* ‘ripening’ with both *vi-* and *vī-* for metrical reasons (see Del Tomba and Maggi 2021: 224 n. 129).

⁴⁴. *jaḍī* scans as -- by metrical lengthening.

⁴⁵. *aysmū* scans as ∪ -- by metrical shortening.

⁴⁶. *pyaurāṇu* scans as ∪ -- ∪ by the ‘*uysnora*-effect’ identified by Leumann 1933–1936: xxxiii–xxxiv § C.a.α and so named by Hitch 2014: 15–17 (words with the shape -- ∪ ∪ scan as ∪ ∪ ∪ at the end of a 7-mora cadence).

⁴⁷. Dict. 495 s.v. *hūs-*: ‘sleeping consciousness ... through ignorance’.

⁴⁸. Dict. 490 s.v. *hūna-*: ‘who might see it in a dream’.

- is continu[ously] ...
- 74 For one who has waken up, imagination does not sleep,⁴⁹ all consciousness returns, the germ of a Tathāgata stretches out,⁵⁰ ... not (?) ...
- 75 It resembles a jewelled banner, encrusted.⁵¹ In the faultless *Ratnaketu(parivarta)*, the all-knowing, lovely Buddha—he spoke thus:⁵² ...
- 76 The realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata) are these twelve parts (in the chain of dependent origination) due to a cause. They appear continu[ously] through ignorance. Without beginning ...
- 77 As (one) conjures up a shape in magic (or), furthermore, (one), while lying sleeping,⁵³ has seen another [shape] in a dream⁵⁴ [but in reality nothing exists there],
- 78 so these twelve (parts) (are) ignorance, (are) continuously deceptions (and) error. Because of (their) non-existence, those are not found⁵⁵ when [one rightly understands (their) causes].
- 79 The city of Gandharvanagara (i.e. the fata morgana mirage) is *produced, (but) it does *not actually exist. Like that, all things are uncreated.⁵⁶ They only [seem] (to exist) because of one's o[wn] imagination].
- 80 A person's⁵⁷ mouth, a person's *heart, a person's hands, <and> the senses fit for ordinary life are themselves (only) a fancy, a false discrimination. The equip[ment] (to awakening) ...
- 81 Ordinary knowledge is only a deception, a deceit,⁵⁸ and (like) heaps of snow.⁵⁹ A deception, fancies, false discriminations⁶⁰ are (even) the equip[ment] (to awakening and) ...
- 82 The self is only fancy. A piece of wood is only a false assumption. The carving tools are only a false discrimination.⁶¹ [A statue is only] imagin[ation].⁶²
- 83 The ignorance which are the (karmically) conditioned factors is just like that, just like the carving tools and the statue (carved from wood). Consciousness, form,⁶³ and (the rest) up to ...
- 84 Nor does ignorance really exist. Without the mind it is not found at all. Without

⁴⁹. Dict. 286 s.v. *biysān*:- 'of one awakened the *saṃjñā*-concept does not sleep'.

⁵⁰. Dict. 467 s.v. *harāys*:- 'he offers the *dharma*-doctrine of the *tathāgata*'.

⁵¹. Dict. 327 s.v. *māñātā*:- 'resembles a jewelled necklace covered (with jewels)'.

⁵². Dict. 409 s.v. *ṣṭi*:- 'he so spoke'.

⁵³. Dict. 396 s.v. *śāna*:- 'sleeping, lying down'.

⁵⁴. Dict. 490 s.v. *hūna*:- 'a form, while lying asleep, then he saw in a dream'; Dict. 495 s.v. *hūs*:- 'lying asleep he then saw form ... in a dream'.

⁵⁵. Dict. 311 s.v. *byeh*:- 'those do not exist'; Dict. 451 s.v. *hanāsa*:- 'in a continuum illusions, assumption, with non-existence, are not found there'.

⁵⁶. Dict. 9 s.v. *avadanda*:- 'the *gandharva-nagara*- (mirage) is not at all real, so all things are unreal'; Dict. 208 s.v. *padam*:- 'that built city exists not at all, just like all uncreated things'.

⁵⁷. Dict. 92 s.v. *ggrrī*:- 'held, raised(?)'.

⁵⁸. Dict. 281 s.v. *biḍa*:- 'deception, deceit only'.

⁵⁹. Dict. 454 s.v. *haṃdurna*:- 'knowledge of this world is only deception, falsehood and a heap of snow'; Dict. 306 s.v. *baura*:- 'snow drift'.

⁶⁰. Dict. 166 s.v. *dyūla*:- 'worldly knowledge is deception, associative (and) discursive thought'.

⁶¹. Dict. 90 s.v. *gge'ha*:- 'the *ātman*-self is *saṃkalpa*-concept only, the piece of wood is *parikalpa*-imagination only, the sphere is *vikalpa*-discrimination only'.

⁶². Dict. 446 s.v. *haṃjsārra*:- 'design is *vikalpa*-thought; *saṃkalpa*-thought only ...'.

⁶³. Dict. 241 s.v. *pīsā*:- 'just as drawing and painting (are) *viññāna*-knowledge (and) form'; Dict. 446 s.v. *haṃjsārra*:- 'just as designing and painting, *viññāna*-thought (makes) form'.

ignorance the mind is alone,⁶⁴ it is a sky [without clouds].

Commentary

73 *pratyātmaggaucarā* ‘the realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata)’ mirrors an apparently unattested Sanskrit **pratyātmagocara*. Cf. *pratyātma-*, Pa. *paccatta-* ‘separate, individual, personal, by or in oneself’, used at the beginning of compounds or adverbially⁶⁵ and especially the Sanskrit compounds *pratyātmagati*, *pratyātmagatigocara* etc., which refer to a ‘state of inner realisation’ exclusive to the Tathāgata, the last and highest state within the framework of the sevenfold *paramārtha* ‘highest reality’ mentioned in chapter 2 of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.⁶⁶ The relationship between this concept and the twelve parts (Kh. *aṃgga-*, Skt. [*bhava-*]*ṅga*) in the chain of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), touched upon presumably here in verse 73 and clearly in verse 76, is doctrinally interesting, for it is reminiscent of how Jñānavajra, a *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* exegete whose commentary is preserved in Tibetan, interpreted the sevenfold *paramārtha*, namely, as recognition ‘that the nature of the dependent origination ... is *śūnyatā*’, emptiness.⁶⁷

74 The short *u* in *huṣṭā* ‘sleeps’ is at variance with the regular Old Khotanese spelling *hūṣṭā* (five occurrences including Z 9.17, 12.60, 88). The spelling *huṣṭā*, to be emended to **hūṣṭā*, is not due to metrical reasons and seems to betray the influence of Late Khotanese, the language spoken by the copyist, where *u* and *ū* interchange in writing (cf. below on 75 *ba<l>ysä*).

Bailey and Skjærvø read the two last preserved syllables as *nika*. Bailey proposed a meaning ‘ornament’ (← *Gāndhārī* < Skt. *niṣka-*),⁶⁸ but a plural *nika* does not fit the present context). Skjærvø tentatively translates ‘*Tarnished’⁶⁹ (cf. Skt. *niṣkaṣāya-* ‘untarnished’ → *Gāndhārī* **nik(h)aṣāya-*?). Should one restore *nī ka[rmyau* ‘Not by (one’s) actions ...’ before the cadence?

75 The locative singular *ratnakettu aggaṃjsu*⁷⁰ most probably refers to the *Ratnaketuparivarta* and particularly to verse 49 in chapter 3:

49 *tvayopadiṣṭaḥ khalu śāntimārgo*
māyāmarīcipratimāś ca dhātavaḥ <l>
saṃkalpamātrajanīto vata jīvaloko
ratnatrayaṃ hi śaraṇaṃ varadaṃ vrajāma<h> ||<49>||

You have shown us the path of calming the mind. / The elements are illusory like a mirage or a reflected image. / This world of beings is produced by concepts. / We go for refuge to the Three Jewels, who are ready to answer our prayers.⁷¹

⁶⁴. Dict. 401 s.v. *śśūka-*: ‘without ignorance ... the mind alone’.

⁶⁵. BHSD 376 s.v., PED 383 s.v., DP 3.29 s.v. *paccattaṃ*.

⁶⁶. See the text in Nanjio 1923: 39 ll. 13–16 and Suzuki 1930: 101–105, 421–423 s.v. *pratyātmāryajñāna* (lists of various compounds with *pratyātmajñāna*, *pratyātmagati*, etc.).

⁶⁷. Horiuchi 2017: 73 (reference from Chen Ruixuan).

⁶⁸. KT 6.132.

⁶⁹. Catalogue 175.

⁷⁰. See SGS 262–263, 283 for the ending.

⁷¹. Ed. Kurumiya 1978: 67; trans. 84000 *The Ratnaketu dhāraṇī* § 3.62 (reference from Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā).

This is not quoted literally, however, but is amplified and elaborated along different lines in the following verses. Notice especially 78 *ttätä jaḍī dvāsu . pabastau jsīrgye hanāsä* ‘these twelve (parts in the chain of dependent origination) (are) ignorance, (are) continuously deceptions (and) error’ recalling Skt. *māyā*° ... *dhātavaḥ* ‘the elements are illusory’; 79 *ggandharvanaggarä ṣa kaṃtha* ‘the city of Gandharvanagara (i.e. the fata morgana mirage)’ recalling Skt. *marīci*- ‘mirage’; 82 [*pīsä*], 83 *pīsä* ‘statue’ recalling Skt. *pratimā*- ‘image’; and 80 *uī loviye dašte hamatä saṃkalpā vikalpi* ‘the senses fit for ordinary life are themselves (only) a fancy, a false discrimination’ recalling Skt. *saṃkalpamātrajanito vata jīvaloko* ‘this world of beings is produced [only] by concepts’ (cf. also 82 *saṃkalpa-mātrā* ‘is only fancy’ etc.).

The Late Khotanese spelling *baysä* ‘Buddha’ of the manuscript has obviously to be restored to its Old Khotanese form *ba<l>ysä* to obtain a regular cadence – ∪ ∪ – ∪.

76 For *dvāsu ttätä aṃga* ‘These twelve parts (in the chain of dependent origination)’, cf. Z 5.56 *dharma / biśśä dvāsu päškala kā’ña* ‘all the *dharma*s are ... to be conceived as twelve parts’.

77 The first hemistich is clearly hypermetrical and must contain an interpolation. To be expunged is probably the adjective *handaru* ‘other’, as Nicholas Sims-Williams suggests to me. The copyist may have been influenced by the occurrence of the phrase *handaru rūvu* in the following hemistich (assuming that this restoration is correct).

For the tentative restoration of the final pāda, cf. Z 2.208 *härju vara ttatvatu ništä / kho ye cā’ya-nārmātu daiyā* ‘In reality they are not actually there, just as one sees what is magic-created’; 4.74 *cu ye brātä jsānye kei’tä / ttu ye hūña buḍḍamu daiyā / kho ye halci daiyā kho īyā / härju vara ttatvatu ništä* ‘One mostly sees in a dream that which one thinks while awake, as one sees anything, as it would be. There is not really an object there’; 2.161 *härä ju vara ttatvatu nästi / biśśä hāde ṣtānye dätte . ttrāma härä cu buro diyāre / härju vara ttatvatu ništi* ‘a thing does not really exist there, but every one appears. Whatever such things appear, a thing does not really exist there’; 22.271 *hūni māñande asāre härju vari ttatvatä ništä* ‘They [i.e. the karmically conditioned factors] are like a dream, unsubstantial. Nothing there really exists’.

78 *hanāsä* ‘error’ is variously translated as ‘Annahme’ by Leumann, ‘grasp, assumption (of a theory)’ by Bailey (who supposes an equivalence with Buddhist Skt. *grāha*- ‘(heretical, erroneous) belief’), ‘hypothesis’ by Ronald E. Emmerick (who supposes an equivalence with Skt. *viparyāsa*- ‘error, delusion’), ‘irrigue Vorstellung, Irrtum’ by Almuth Degener, and ‘distraction’ by Skjærvø.⁷² Bailey and Emmerick followed thus the interpretation by Leumann, who connected *hanāsa*- with the Iranian root **Hnac*- ‘to reach, attain, take’,⁷³ but the word is rather related to the verb *hanaśś*- ‘to go astray’ < **nac*- ‘to disappear, perish’⁷⁴ and thus means ‘error, distraction’, a meaning that suits all of its occurrences.

⁷² Leumann 1933–1936: 518 s.v. ²*hanāsa*- (Z 7.28, 32); Bailey, KT 6.385 s.v. *hanāsä*, Dict. 451–452 s.v. *hanāsa*- (cf. BHSD 219 s.v. *-grāha*); Emmerick 1968: 131 (Z 7.28, 32), 1977a: 88 (*Vajracchedikā* II), 1997: 84, 88 (*Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra* 9–10, 29) (cf. BHSD 493 s.v. *viparyāsa*); Degener 1989: 11; Skjærvø, Catalogue 175.

⁷³ See Leumann 1933–1936: 518 s.v.; cf. Dict. 451–452 s.v. (there is no etymology in KT 6.385 s.v. *hanāsä*) and EDIV 183–184 s.v. **Hnas*-.

⁷⁴ See Degener 1989: 11 s.v. *hanāsa*-; cf. SGS 146 s.v. *hanaśś*- and EDIV 282–284 s.v. *nas*-.

For the tentative restoration of the final pāda, cf. the third pāda in Z 5.54 *pracyau jsa hāra panamāre / prracyau jsa vātcā ni byaure . ku ye prracyā rraṣṭu paysendā / puṣṣo ātma-saṃñā nihuśdā* ‘Things arise through *pratyāyas* [causes]. Then through *pratyāyas* they cease to exist. When one rightly understands the *pratyāyas*, the *saṃjñā* of self utterly disappears’.

79 The formulaic expression restored at the end of the verse occurs in similar metrical contexts in Z 4.32, 4.60, 4.64, 4.77, 5.64, and 9.19 and is to be partially restored in Z 14. 51, 54.⁷⁵

80 Bailey’s interpretation of *ggrrī-* as a past participle meaning ‘held, raised (?)’ from the simplex contained in ‘*haṃggrrīh-* “to lift”’ is untenable, if only because the past participle of *haṃggrrīh-* is *haṃgrautta-*.⁷⁶ Instead, *ggrrī-* may be seen as the compound form of unattested Khotanese **ggrrīvā-* ‘person’, which is cognate with the Sogdian feminine noun *γryw* ‘self, person, soul, body; (one)self’ etc. < Ir. **grīuā-* ‘nape’ (cf. Old Indian *grīvā-*).⁷⁷ This *ggrrī-* is < **ggrrīva-* (with short *-a-* in composition) like *śśī-* < *śśīya-* ‘white’ (< Ir. **cūaita-*) in OKh. *śśī-phīsa-* ‘white coloured’⁷⁸ and *ī-* ‘one’ < **īva-* (< Ir. **aiya-*) in OKh. *ī-garśā* ‘with one throat’.⁷⁹ Bailey’s supplement *ggrrī-<pā>ysā* is palaeographically unjustified. At first, I supplemented *ru* in *ggrrī-ysā<ru> u* on account of the almost identical shape of the akṣaras *ru* and *u*, which are distinguished only by a vertical stroke in *ru* between the akṣara head and the subscript vowel (contrast 77 *handaru* and 80 *u*).⁸⁰ Since such a supplement would result in a 10-mora cadence exceptionally ending with – ◡, Sims-Williams suggests emending manuscript *ggrrī-ysā u* straightaway to **ggrrī-ysāru*, giving a common 9-mora cadence – ◡ ◡ – ◡ ◡. This leaves the minor irregularity of a subsequent segment of 2 morae (*uī* ◡ ◡) in place of 3 morae before the final cadence, but I find that the irregularity is easily removed by assuming a trivial haplography and by supplementing *uī* to <*u*> *uī*. The emendation is confirmed by the obvious correspondence of *°vaktrā*, **°ysāru*, and *°dasta* with the standard Indian triad *vāc-* ‘speech’, *kāya-* ‘body, and *manas-* ‘mind’.⁸¹

80–81 The restoration of two occurrences of *saṃbā[rā]* ‘equipment to awakening’ (BSkt. *sambhāra-* ‘equipment for (those destined for) enlightenment’)⁸² in verses 80 and

⁷⁵ Cf. Maggi 2020: 176–177.

⁷⁶ See Dict. 92 s.v. *ggrrī* and cf. SGS 138.

⁷⁷ See Filippone 2017 with references to earlier literature and cf. ESIJa 3.291–292 and EWAia 1.509.

⁷⁸ Cf. Skjærvø 2004: vol. 2, 347.

⁷⁹ Cf. Degener 1987: 66 and Canevascini 1993: 128 (where the reference ‘P 2781, 88; KT 3, 27’ for LKh. *ī-garśā* is wrong for ‘P 2781, 87–88; KT 3, 69’).

⁸⁰ Admittedly, all three other occurrences of the nominative singular of *ysāra-* ‘heart’ in the *Book of Zambasta* have the ending *-ā*. However, [t]he ending *-u* is expected for the N[ominative] S[ingular] n[euter] < OIr. **-am* ... cf. Sogd. *-w* ... In O.Kh., *ysāru* is frequently found, e.g. Z 13. 59, for the NS of *ysāra-* “1000” (cf. Av. *hazaṃra-* n.)’ and there are other traces of the ending *-u* (SGS 253). *ggrrī-ysā<ru>* might be one such trace, as the word, thematised in Khotanese, was originally neuter, cf. Av. *zərəd-* (n.) and OInd. *hṛd-* (n.).

⁸¹ Suffice it to mention, for instance, *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* 15, 16, 17 *kāya-vān-mano-duṣcaritam* ‘méfait ... de corps, de parole, de pensée/d’esprit’ (Lévi 1932: 44, 119–120, cf. Kudo 2004: 70–71, 74–75); Khotan *Dharmapada* 211, 212 *kāya-kamu vāyī-kamu maṇo-kama* (Brough 1962: 152) ‘action of body, action of speech, action of mind’. The triad does not occur only in Buddhist texts, cf. e.g. *mano-vāk-karman-* ‘thoughts and words and deeds’ and *mano-vāg-deha-ja-* ‘resulting from th[oughts] and w[ords] and d[ee]ds’ (lit. mind, speech and body)’ in the *Manusmṛti* (MW 785 s.v. *mano*).

⁸² BHSD 580.

81 is probable, as the statement that the equipment to awakening, albeit necessary, is also a deception due to false discrimination is in line with a statement such as Z 7.19 *ttāna ju ne prrāptā / buddha-dharmānu karā . nā ju vā jīṅga / gyaḍī āstanna hārā* ‘Therefore, there is no arising really of the *Buddhadharmas*, nor is there any disappearance of a thing such as ignorance’. The *bodhi-saṃbāra*- ‘equipment to awakening’ is dealt with in Z 10, where it is described as sevenfold: Z 10.3 *ttathāggatta-ggarbhī ttīma / bodhi-saṃbārai hoda / kṣāta’ pārāmate mulysdā / balysūstā haṃggaśśo ttanda* ‘The *tathāgatagarbha* is its [i.e. of awakening] seed. It has seven *bodhisambhāras*: the six *pāramitās*, compassion. Such is *bodhi* [awakening] in summary’. The restoration of *saṃbāra*- ‘equipment to awakening’ in 80–81 is also supported by the matching ‘carving tools’ for woodworking (*haṃjsārrā*-) that in 82–83 are likewise said to result from false discrimination (see below).

81 *haṃdurna* is a hapax. Bailey translates *baurā haṃdurna* as ‘snow drift’, ‘heap of snow’⁸³ and oscillates between a masculine stem *haṃdurna*- and a feminine *haṃdurnā*-, which he connects with ‘Av. *ham-dvar*- “assemble” ...; *handvarəna*- “assembly”’.⁸⁴ Skjærvø does not translate *haṃdurna* and, in doing so, implicitly rejects Bailey’s etymology possibly because he has provided evidence which indicates that Ir. **dū*- resulted in Kh. *v*-.⁸⁵ In my opinion, Bailey’s suggestion of an Iranian action noun **ham-duar-ana*-⁸⁶ from **duar*- ‘to run’⁸⁷ as the antecedent of Kh. *haṃdurna*- is plausible because the prehistoric accent shift to the prefix⁸⁸ may have caused the reduction of unstressed **-dūa-* to *-du-* before **dū* developed to *v* in Khotanese. However, *haṃdurna* is probably nominative-accusative plural from *haṃdurna*-, masculine like the Avestan cognate, rather than singular from a feminine *haṃdurnā*- as Bailey apparently has it. For the simile, cf. Z 24.458 *puṇyau karma jīyāre / samu kho ggare vīrā / baura jīye hamānu* ‘*karmas* disappear through merits just as the snow on the mountains disappears in summer’.

82 *saṃkalpa-mātrā ātma* ‘The self is only fancy’ may be compared with Z 4.5 *uysāno trāma kho dyūlā / ṣa samu parikalpa ni karma* ‘The self indeed is such as a deception. That is mere *parikalpa*, not *karmas*’.

The meaning of *gge’ha* ‘piece of wood’ is assured by bilingual evidence in Suv 5.15, where it translates Skt. *kāṣṭha*-.⁸⁹ Bailey proposes that *gge’ha* refers here to ‘the splinter which struck the Buddha’ mentioned in Z 13.81 *dātīnei ttarandari balysā / khvei ño khā pau vātā ggei’ha* ‘The Buddha’s body is the *Dharmakāya*, so that a piece of wood [Emmerick: an arrow-shaft] would surely not wound him on the foot’. Given that the passage under consideration is about selflessness and impermanence, reference to a piece of wood might remind one of the quotation from the *Lalitavistara* in Z 6.5 *kauṭiṃṇa*

⁸³. The ending *-ā* of *baurā* is occasionally found in Old Khotanese beside *-e* for genitive-dative singular *-e* in *ā*-declension words not showing palatalisation (SGS 273–274) like the instrumental-ablative singular *hote jsa* beside palatalised *hvete jsa* from *hotā*- ‘power’ (cf. Hitch 1990: 189–191 §§ 8.4, 10.4).

⁸⁴. Dict. 306 s.v. *baura* and esp. 454 s.v. *haṃdurna*; cf. AirW 1772 s.v. *han-dvarəna*-.
⁸⁵. See Skjærvø 1985.

⁸⁶. Rather than **ham-dur-ana*- with zero grade root, which is rarely found with *-ana*- action nouns. Cf. AiGr 2.2.185 § 82.a and 187 § 82.c.

⁸⁷. See EDIV 83–84 s.v. **duar*-.

⁸⁸. See Leumann 1926.

⁸⁹. See Skjærvø 2004: 261 s.v. *ggei’hā*-.
⁹⁰. See Skjærvø 2004: 261 s.v. *ggei’hā*-.
⁹¹. See Skjærvø 2004: 261 s.v. *ggei’hā*-.
⁹². See Skjærvø 2004: 261 s.v. *ggei’hā*-.
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¹³⁴. See Skjærvø 2004: 261 s.v. *ggei’hā*-.
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¹⁸⁷. See Skjærvø 2004: 261 s.v. *ggei’hā*-.
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³⁴⁴. See Skjærvø 2004: 261 s.v

tcei'mā aniccā / dukhi ttuśśai trāmu anātmā / kho ju ggūli o vā ggei'ha / vāna ātme jīvātā satvā ‘Kaundinya, the eye is impermanent, suffering, empty, and so devoid of self as a clump [of clay] or a piece of wood, without self, life, being’.⁹⁰ Still closer, however, is the mention of *candanā* ‘sandalwood’ in the story of the statue of the Buddha made by the craftsman god Viśvakarman for King Udayana that is narrated in Z 23.33–53 and the subsequent three-folio lacuna, where the words *pīsa-* ‘work of art, statue’ and *haṃjsārrā-* ‘carving tools’ also occur as here in 82–83 (Z 23.44 *candanā* ‘sandalwood’, 49 *pīsā*, 51 *haṃjsārro*).

The interpretation of *haṃjsārro* is problematic. The word also occurs in the accusative singular as Z 23.51 *haṃjsārro* and, in Late Khotanese, as *Karmām deśana* 23 *haṃjsāri* (MS A) = *hajsāra* (MS B). Leumann inferred the meaning ‘Umwandlung’ from the context in Z 23.51 and later Bailey and Emmerick followed him and translated ‘transformation’.⁹¹ Bailey then changed his mind and proposed ‘drawing (lines)’, ‘designing, drawing’.⁹² Apparently in line with this, Skjærvø adopted ‘*art works’ in his translation of the passage under consideration, although Emmerick had confirmed Leumann’s translation on the basis of the discovery by Inokuchi Taijun of the Chinese parallel in the *Dasheng zaoxiang gongde jing* 大乘造像功德經 (T 694, *Tathāgata-pratibimbapratīṣṭhānuśaṃsa*).⁹³ In his opinion, Ch. *jí biàn qí shēn* 即變其身 ‘Then he transformed his body’ corresponds to Z 23.51 *ttīyi haṃjsārro harbiśśu nāte* ‘Then he underwent a complete transformation’ (i.e. the god disguised himself as a human carver) with *biàn* 變 ‘change’ = *haṃjsārro*.⁹⁴ As equivalent of the single Khotanese clause *ttīyi haṃjsārro harbiśśu nāte*, however, Inokuchi gives the three Chinese clauses *jí biàn qí shēn*, *ér wéi jiàng zhě*, *chí zhū lìqì* 即變其身，而為匠者，持諸利器 (T 694, vol. 16, 790c6)⁹⁵ ‘Immediately he transformed his body, became a craftsman, took all the carving tools’. As Chen Ruixuan suggests to me, ‘the part corresponding to *haṃjsārro harbiśśu nāte* is rather 持諸利器 “[he] took all the carving tools” and in this case, *haṃjsārrā-* is the counterpart of 利器 “carving tools”’.⁹⁶ This conclusion is lent support by the occurrence of *zhū* 諸 = *harbiśśu* ‘all’ in the relevant clauses. In the folio studied here, the wood to be worked (82 *gge'ha*), the carving tools (82, 83 *haṃjsārro*), and the statue carved therefrom (82 [*pīsā*], 83 *pīsā*) are all concrete objects that are said to be only false assumptions. The meaning ‘carving tools’ suits also the occurrence in *Karmām deśana* 21–23, which conveys a similar concept:

⁹⁰. Trans. after Chen and Loukota Sanclemente 2018: 146–153, esp. 146.

⁹¹. Leumann 1933–1936: 296; KT 6.379–380 s.v. *haṃjsārro*; Emmerick 1968: 351 (Z 23.51), 1977b: 98, 114 (*Karmām deśana* 23).

⁹². Dict. 444 s.v. *hajsārro* and 446 s.v. *haṃjsārro*.

⁹³. Inokuchi 1961: 364–388, esp. 372.

⁹⁴. See Emmerick in Studies 1.122–123 s.v. *haṃjsārro*, where he points out that Bailey ‘[f]or KD [23] ... retains the earlier meaning “change” in the Dict. s.v. *ttaurā*’ and that ‘he renders it “sphere” [n. 1: As if it were *haṃjsāra* ...] in his translation of the same passage in Dict. s.v. *gge'ha*’. Bailey was certainly aware of the Chinese parallel since elsewhere he equates ‘the *bārraa-* [that] make the image of Buddha for Udayana [with] Chinese parallel texts *kung-k'iau-tsi-zən* “skilled workmen”’ (Dict. 278 s.v. *bārrai*, cf. *gōngqiǎo zhī rén* 工巧之人, T 694, vol. 16, 790b12).

⁹⁵. Text from <http://tripitaka.cbeta.org/T16n0694>.

⁹⁶. Chen Ruixuan further informs me that ‘this seems also to be the way in which Duan Qing understands Z 23.51 in her Chinese translation of this chapter’ (*ttīyi haṃjsārro harbiśśu nāte thato vāṣto vahāṣṭā yúshì ná qí zhū lìqì*, *xùnsù xiàfán xiàng rénjiān* 于是拿起诸利器，迅速下凡向人间 [So he picked up all the carving tools, he quickly descended to the earth]’, Duan 2013: 140–141).

- 21 *cu biši hīra aštā nikṣvī(da) tte karma biši buri haiysda .
ašte jsa ašti khu jīye . ṣkāṃjau jsa karma khu jāre ||*
- 22 *ṣi' saṃ drāṃ khu ji hve nāste uysmīnai piṇḍai dūrā .
tte jsa mī ttaurā nirūje . virai jsaṃ saṃ khu ysaiye ||*
- 23 *cu vā haṃjsāri biysašte ttī pyaṃtsi ttauri ni byehe .
karya-v-ī ttuśīma jsāte cu vīna rū śūnyatta nāste ||*

²¹Since all things promote existence, one's karmas are present continually. How does existence due to existence cease? How do karmas due to (karmically) conditioned factors cease? ²²It is just like such a man as takes hold of a lump of clay, a clod. Then there is a wall (built) from it, (but the lump of clay itself) is destroyed right there just when (the wall) is produced.⁹⁷ ²³When (that man) takes hold of carving tools (*haṃjsāri*) (and sculpts something in the wall), then he does not find the (solid) wall before him (any longer). His labour proceeds in vain since he takes hold of emptiness, (which is) without form.⁹⁸

Leumann derived *haṃjsārrā-*, in the meaning 'Umwandlung' postulated by him, from Indo-Iranian **sam-čāranā-*⁹⁹ and Bailey followed suit by reconstructing Ir. **ham-čāranā-* and comparing Buddhist Skt. *vi-kurvaṇā-* 'the ability to assume various shapes',¹⁰⁰ both from the Ir. root **kar-* 'to do, make'.¹⁰¹ Once Bailey preferred interpreting *haṃjsārrā-* as 'drawing', he still posited an antecedent **ham-čāranā-* but suggested that the root involved is 'possibly *kār-* "draw lines" rather than *kar-* "make"'.¹⁰² The meaning 'carving tools' established on the basis of bilingual evidence indicates that *haṃjsārrā-* goes back to Ir. **ham-čarθ-nā-* from the root **kart-* 'to cut', also continued in the Khotanese verb *patālt-* 'to cut off' < Ir. **pati-kṛt-a-*, and contains the suffix *-nā-* which forms substantives mainly from roots in full grade as in the present case.¹⁰³ The outcome *haṃjsārrā-* < Ir. **ham-čarθ-nā-* is regular. The development **rθn- > -rr-* is also to be seen in Kh. *hatārra* 'once (Latin *semel*)' < Ir. **hakṛθ-nā* (instrumental singular of an adjective **hakṛθ-na-*; cf. Av. *hakərət* 'once')¹⁰⁴ and parallels the development **-rśn- > -rr-* in *ttarra-* 'thirst' < Ir. **tṛśna-* (cf. Skt. *tṛṣṇā-*, Av. *taršna-*). The compensatory

⁹⁷. Cf. Skjærvø's translation 'the wall *is destroyed right there just when it is produced' in Studies 2.69 s.v. *narūj-*.

⁹⁸. Ed. Emmerick 1977b: 92–93 with modifications. The translation of this difficult passage (cf. the problematic rendition by Emmerick 1977b: 98) owes much to suggestions made by Chen Ruixuan, especially the idea that the subjects of *nirūje* 'is destroyed' and *ysaiye* 'is produced' must be the building material and the wall respectively, the idea that here 'carving tools' (*haṃjsāri*) imply sculpting, and the reading *karya-v-ī ttuśīma jsāte* 'His labour proceeds in vain' instead of Emmerick's *karya vī ...* 'He proceeds with vain exertion' (cf. Z 24.440: *biśšo karyo merä / ṣā hve' ttuśīma yīndā / kye handaru jsīndā / haysānandai ṣtānā* 'That man who knowingly slays another makes empty all the mother's labour').

⁹⁹. Leumann 1933–1936: 517 s.v.

¹⁰⁰. MW 954.

¹⁰¹. KT 6.379–380 s.v. *haṃjsārro*.

¹⁰². Dict. 446 s.v. *haṃjsārro* (on p. 444 s.v. *hajsārro* one still reads that 'the base may be *kar-* "to make"').

¹⁰³. See EDIV 243–244 s.v. **kart¹*, SGS 67 s.v. *patālt-* for the root and AiGr 2.2.732–734 § 561 for the suffix. Though *-nā-* derivatives are basically action nouns, they can develop a concrete meaning, e.g. Kh. *byāna-* 'bridle' < Ir. **abi-dhāna-*, cf. Av. *°aiwiḍāna-* etc. (see Dict. 308 s.v.). Cf. also, with the suffix *-iā-* (AiGr 2.824–826), Pashto *čārā* 'large knife, dagger' < **kartīā-* (Morgenstierne 2003: 21) and Shughni *čēd* 'knife, sword' (Morgenstierne 1974: 25 s.v. *čād*; cf. Karamšoev 1988–1999: vol. 3, 351 s.v. *čēd*).

¹⁰⁴. See Leumann 1920: 33 and Emmerick 1980: 171.

lengthening *-arθn- > -ārr- can be compared with *-arn- > -ār- in *kārra-* ‘deaf’ < Ir. **karna-* (cf. Av. *karəna-*).¹⁰⁵

Bailey restores *saṃ[kalpa]* and translates ‘*saṃkalpa*-thought only ...’, which implies a restoration *saṃ[kalpa-mātr-]*.¹⁰⁶ Sims-Williams aptly suggests restoring *saṃ[ñā-]* – ∪, which provides the expected 3-mora segment after a 9-mora cadence, instead of *saṃ[kalpa-]* – – ∪, which would cause a hypermetrical hemistich. Actually, the adjective *saṃñā-mātraa-* ‘being only imagination’ occurs several times in a similar metrical position straddling the pāda onset and the cadence as here in the restoration *saṃ[ñā-mātrei pīsā]* – ∪ | – – – ∪: cf. Z 4.52 (2×) *samu saṃñā-mātrā ūtca / dai saṃñā-mātrai kṣāri* ‘The water is merely *saṃñā* alone, fire *saṃñā* alone, lye’, Z 4.80 *ttāna saṃñā-mātrai lovi* ‘Therefore is the world *saṃñā* alone’, and Z 9.20 (3×) *ttāna saṃñā-mātrai lovā / ttāna saṃñā-mātre ṣkoṅgye / ttāna saṃñā-mātrā dharma* ‘Therefore, the world is mere imagination. Therefore, the *saṃskāras* are mere imagination. Therefore, *dharmas* are mere imagination’, all scanning ∪ – ∪ | – – – ∪.

On the meaning of [*pīsā*] see next.

83 The meaning of *pīsa-* ‘work of art, sculpture, carving; art, skill; profession’, here specifically ‘statue’ (cf. Z 23.49 *pīsā*) has been discussed in detail by Sims-Williams.¹⁰⁷

84 For the pure mind likened to a sky without clouds, cf. Z 2.176 *trāmu tvī aysmū balysa / oṣku vāte vasvātā aggaṃjsā / samu kho ātāsi vasuṣṭi / vāno pyaurāṇu patīsu* ‘Such is your mind, Buddha, always pure, faultless, just as the sky is pure without clouds in autumn’¹⁰⁸ and Z 9.3 *samu kho ātāsi pātemīndi / pyaure ttrāmī klaiśa / tathāggatta-ggarbhā vasutā hāḍe / kho ātāsā hamraṣṭu* ‘Just as the clouds darken the sky, so do *kleśas* (the *tathāgatagarbha*). But the *tathāgatagarbha* is always as pure as the sky’.

¹⁰⁵ See Emmerick 1980: 167–168. Alternatively, should *hamjsārrā-* simply mean ‘tools’ and not specifically ‘carving tools’, Sims-Williams convincingly proposes **ham-čarnā-*, cognate with Persian *afzār* ‘tool’ < Ir. **abi-čarna-* (and **upa-čāra-*, cf. Armenian *aučar* but *pačar* respectively), Zoroastrian Middle Persian *abzār* ‘instrument, means; spice’ (MacKenzie 1986: 4 s.v.), Manichaean Middle Persian *’bc’r* [abzār] ‘materials, means’, Manichaean Parthian *’bc’r* [ābzār] ‘id.’ (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 4, 8–9 s.vv.), and with the loanwords Biblical and Official Aramaic *šrn* ‘furnishings’ and Elamite *ha-za-ir-na(-um)*, *ha-za-ra-an-na* ‘id.’ ← Old Iranian *ā-čarna-*, etc. (see Henning 1958: 34 n. 7; Tavernier 2007: 437 with further references).

¹⁰⁶ See Dict. 446 s.v. *hamjsārra*.

¹⁰⁷ See Sims-Williams in Studies 3.94–96 s.v. *pīsā*.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Skjærvø 1981: 463–465, esp. 465, and in Studies 1.68 s.v. *patīsu*.

Glossary

An arrow → refers to fuller information to be found in the commentary. Abbreviations: 3 = third person; A = accusative; act. = active; adj. = adjective; adv. = adverb(ial); conj. = conjunction; f(.) = feminine; f. = feminine noun; GD = genitive-dative; IA = instrumental-ablative; indic. = indicative; intr. = intransitive; L = locative; m(.) = masculine; m. = masculine noun; mid. = middle; N = nominative; NA = nominative-accusative; P = plural; postp. = postposition; pp. = past participle; prep. = preposition; prf. = perfect; pron. = pronoun; prs. = present; S = singular; tr. = transitive; vb. = verb.

aggamjsa- adj. ‘faultless’: LSm *aggamjsu* 75.

aṃgga- m. ‘part (in the chain of dependent origination)’: NS *aṃggā* 73; NAP *aṃgga* 76.

anāstana- adj. ‘without beginning’: NSm *anāstanā* 76.

abhāva- m. ‘non-existence’: IAS *abhāvāna* 78.

aysmua- m. ‘mind’: NS *aysmū* 84; GDS *aysmū* 84.

avadanda- adj. ‘uncreated’: NAP *avadanda* 79.

ah-, [vāta-] vb. ‘exist’: negative 3S prs. indic. act. *niṣṭā* 73 79 84, [niṣṭā] 77.

āgāśa- m. ‘sky’: NS *āgāśā* 84.

ātmā- f. ‘self’: NS *ātma* 82.

-ī emphatic particle: *ṣī* (+ *ṣā*) 75.

īñā postp. ‘on account of’: *īñā* 76.

īs-, [īṣṭa-] vb. ‘to return’: 3S prs. ind. mid. *īste* 74.

u conj. ‘and’: *u* 80 81 83 83.

uī f. ‘senses’: NAP *uī* 80.

kaṃthā- f. ‘city’: NS *kaṃtha* 79.

karju ni adv. phrase ‘not at all’: *karju ni* 84.

ka [74→.

kā [83.

ku conj. ‘when’: *ku* 78.

kho conj. ‘as, like’: *kho* 77 83.

ggandharvanaggara- m. ‘Gandharvanagara (= fata morgana)’: GDS *ggandharvanaggara* 79.

gge’hā- f. ‘(piece of) wood’: NS *gge’ha* 82→.

ggrrī-dasta- m. ‘a person’s hand’: NAP *ggrrī-dasta* 80→.

ggrrī-ysāra- m. ‘a person’s heart’: NS **ggrrī-ysāru* 80→.

ggrrī-vaktrra- m. ‘a person’s mouth’: NS *ggrrī-vaktrrā* 80→.

cā’yi- f. ‘magic’: LS *cā’ya* 77.

cu see *kye*.

kye relative pron. ‘which’: N inanimate *cu* 73 83; GD *kye* 73.

jaḍia- m. ‘ignorance’: NS *jaḍī* 78 83 84; GDS

jaḍī 84; IAS *gyaḍīna* 73, *jaḍīna* 76.

ju indefinite particle: *ju* 77 84. See also *karju ni*, *hāra-*.

jñāna- m. ‘knowledge’: NS *jñānā* 81.

jsīrgyā- f. ‘deception’: NAP *jsīrgye* 78.

tta adv. ‘thus’: *tta* 75.

ttatvatu adv. ‘in reality’: [ttatvatu] 77.

ttathāggataggarbha- m. ‘germ of a Tathāgata’: NS *ttathāggataggarbha* 74.

ttamda- adj. ‘only’: NSf *ttamda* 81.

ttārā see *ṣāra-*.

ttātā see *ṣātā*.

ttu see *ṣa-*.

ttrāmu adv. ‘so, like that’: *ttrāmu* 78 79 83.

daśa- m. ‘banner’: GDS *daśi* 75.

dašta- adj. ‘fit’: NAPf *dašte* 80.

dasta- see *ggrrī-dasta*.

dāta- see *dai-*.

dai-, **dāta-** vb. ‘to see’: 3S prs. indic. act. *daiyā* 73; 3S prf. tr. m. *dāte* 77.

dyūla- m. ‘deception’: NS *dyūlā* 81 81.

dvāsu cardinal numeral ‘twelve’: NA *dvāsu* 76 78.

nā adv. ‘not’: *ni* 74 74→, **nā* 79, *ne* 78. See also *karju ni*.

nārmān-, [nārmāta-] vb. ‘to conjure up’: 3S prs. indic. act. *nārmāndā* 77.

niṣṭā see *ah-*.

ne see *nā*.

padanda- see [padām-].

[padām-], **padanda-** vb. ‘to produce’: pp. NSf **padanda* 79. See also *avadanda-*.

pabastau adv. ‘continuously’: *paba[stau]* 73, *paba<stau>* 76, *pabastau* 78.

paysān-, **paysānda-** vb. ‘to understand’: 3S prs. indic. act. [paysendā] 78.

parikalpa-mātrāa- adj. ‘being only false assumption’: NSf *parikalpa-mātrāa* 82.

pātco adv. ‘furthermore’: *pātco* 77.

pīsa- m. ‘statue’: NS [pīsā] 82, *pīsā* 83→.

pyaurā- f. ‘cloud’: GDP [pyaurāṇu] 84.

pracaa- m. ‘cause’: GDS *pracai* 76; NAP

[*prracā*] 78.
prattyātma-ggaucara- m. ‘realm of inner realisation (of a Tathāgata)’: NS *prattyātma-ggaucarā* 76→, GDS *prattyātma-ggaucarā* 73.
balysa- m. ‘Buddha’: NS *baḷḷysā* 75→.
biḍā- f. ‘deceit’: NS *biḍa* 81.
bāysān-, bāysānda- vb. ‘to wake up (intr.)’: pp. GDSm *bāysādyē* 74.
biśśa- adj. ‘all’: NAPm *biśśā* 79.
baurā- f. ‘snow’: GDS *baurā* 81.
byau-, [byauda-] vb. ‘to be found’: 3S prs. indic. mid. *byaude* 84, 3P prs. indic. mid. *byaure* 78.
briyūna- adj. ‘lovely’: NSm *briyūnā* 75.
māñ-, [*mānda-] vb. ‘to resemble’: 3S prs. indic. act. *māñātā* 75.
muḷ 76
yāva prep. ‘up to’: *yāva* 83.
ye indefinite pron. ‘one’: N [*ye*] 78.
ysāra- see *ggrī-ysāra-*.
ratanīnaa- adj. ‘jewelled’: GDSm *ratanīnai* 75.
ratnaketta- m. title of a text ‘*Ratnaketu(pari-varta)*’: LS *ratnakettu* 75→.
rraṣṭu adv. ‘rightly’: [*rraṣṭu*] 78.
rūva- m. ‘form, shape’: NS *rūvā* 83; AS *rūvu* 77, [*rūvu*] 77.
lovīa- adj. ‘ordinary, pertaining to ordinary life’: NSm *lovī* 81; NAPf *loviye* 80.
vaktrra- see *ggrī-vaktrra-*.
vara adv. ‘there’: [*vara*] 77.
vikalpa- m. ‘false discrimination’: NS *vikalpi* 80; NAP *vikalpa* 81.
vikalpa-mātraa- adj. ‘being only false discrimination’: NSf *vikalpa-mātrā* 82.
viññāna- m. ‘consciousness’: NS *viññānā* 83.
viñāna- m. ‘consciousness’: NS *viñānā* 74.
vīna, vāno prep. ‘without’: *vīna* 84 84, [*vāno*] 84.
vūḍa- adj. ‘encrusted’: *vūḍā* 75.
śś-, [śśāta-] vb. ‘to lie’: prs. participle *śśāna-*: GDSm *śśānye* 77.
śśāna- see *śś-*.
śśūka- adj. ‘alone’: NSm *śśūkā* 84.
ṣa-, tta- demonstrative pron. ‘that; he’: NSm *ṣī* (+ emphatic *-ī*) 75; ASm *ttu* 73; NSf *ṣa*

79.
ṣāra-, ttāra- demonstrative pron. ‘that’: NAPm *ttārā* 78.
ṣātā reduplicated demonstrative pron. ‘this’: NAPm *ttātā* 76 78
ṣkauñjā- f. ‘(karmically) conditioned factor’: NAP *ṣkauñje* 83.
saṃkalpa- m. ‘fancy’: NS *saṃkalpā* 80; NAP *saṃkalpa* 81.
saṃkalpa-mātraa- adj. ‘being only fancy’: NSf *saṃkalpa-mātrā* 82.
saṃñā-mātraa- adj. ‘being only imagination’: NSm *saṃ[ñā-mātrei]* 82.
saṃñā- f. ‘imagination’: NS *saṃñā* 73 74; IAS [*saṃñe jsa*] 79.
samu adv. ‘only, just’: *samu* 79 83 83.
saṃbāra- m. ‘equipment (to awakening)’: NS *saṃbā[rā]* 80 81→.
sarvaṃñā- adj. ‘all-knowing’: NSm *sarvaṃñā* 75.
sai-, [sasta-] vb. ‘to appear, seem’: 3P prs. indic. act. *saindā* 76, [*saindā*] 79.
haṃjsārrā- f. (collective) ‘carving tools’: NS *haṃjsārra* 82→ 83.
hanāsa- m. ‘error’: NS *hanāsā* 78→.
handara- adj. ‘other’: ASm {*handaru*} 77, *handaru* 77.
haṃdurna- m. ‘heap’: NAP *haṃdurna* 81→.
hamata- emphatic reflexive pron. ‘oneself’: NAPm *hamatā* 80.
harays-, [haraṣṭa-] vb. ‘to stretch out (intr.)’: 3S prs. indic. mid. *haraysde* 74.
harbiśśa- adj. ‘all’: NSm *harbiśśā* 74.
hāra- m. ‘things’: NS (+ *ju*) [*hārju*] 77; NAP *hira* 79.
hirṣṭai adv. ‘actually, really’: *hirṣṭai* 79 84.
hivīa- adj. ‘one’s own’: IASf *hivī[ñe]* 79.
hūna- m. ‘dream’: LS *hūnā* 73, *hūñā* 77.
***hūstā** see *hūs-*.
hūs-, [hūta-] vb. ‘to sleep’: 3S prs. indic. act. **hūstā* 74; prs. participle *hūsanda-*, f. *hūsamkyā-*: GDSm *hūsandā* 77; NSf *hūsamkya* 73.
hvata- see *hvāñ-*.
[hvāñ-], hvata- vb. ‘to speak’: 3S prf. tr. m. *hva[te]* 75.

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Figure 1. Khotanese fragment IOL Khot 7/7 (Kha. 0012a), recto. The British Library, London. British Library Board.



Figure 2. Khotanese fragment IOL Khot 7/7 (Kha. 0012a), verso. The British Library, London. British Library Board.

